



Cover Art by Sam English, Ojibwe, a descendent of both the Turtle Mountain Band and the Redlake Band of Ojibwe Indians. The painting appeared, without title, on the cover of *Winds of Change, A Magazine for American Indian Education & Opportunity*, Volume 11, Number 4, Fall 1996.

***The Dance of the Passamaquoddy***

A cultural study of the Passamaquoddy Tribe portrayed  
through the metaphor of traditional dance.

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## Table of Contents

Preface	1
<i>Acknowledgments</i>	4
Welcome Dance	5
<i>Introduction</i>	5
<i>Traditional Dance as Cultural Metaphor</i>	6
Greeting Dance	8
<i>The Dancers</i>	8
<i>Revival of the Dances, Part One</i>	9
Peace Pipe Ceremonial and Dance	11
<i>Historical Background</i>	11
<i>Realities of Oppression</i>	13
Pine Cone Dance	15
<i>Women and Matrilineage</i>	15
Hunter Dance	17
<i>Men and Economics</i>	17
<i>Fishing Rights</i>	18
Eagle Dance	21
<i>Kmihqitahasultipon Project</i>	21
<i>Survival through the Children</i>	23
Snake Dance	26
<i>Revival of the Dances, Part Two</i>	26
<i>Navigating Two Worlds</i>	27
Endnotes	29
Bibliography	30
<i>Annotated Bibliography</i>	30
<i>Other Resources</i>	31
Appendix A: Map of the Waponahki Tribes of New England	33

## Preface

There's a facet to doing an ethnography that belies, I believe, an arrogance on the part of the researcher. Arrogance, in my cultural paradigm, is something which one should avoid. Arrogance is a strong word with negative connotations, and I have wondered through the whole process of ethnographic research if I could accept this arrogance as part of my role as a researcher. I questioned myself continually. What makes me think that I could even come close to portraying the complexity of experiences and lives of a Native American people? Who was I but a white guy in his early thirties, with heretofore extremely limited notions of what it meant to be Native American? How could I be so arrogant to believe that I, as part of a dominating cultural group, could realistically understand and portray a culture that saw in me the oppressor?

The short answer is: I doubt that I can. The long answer is more complex. As a student in Intercultural Relations, I came into the master's degree program with extensive knowledge of a Pacific Island culture. I could probably write an ethnographic study of the Marshall Islanders without feeling arrogant at all. I am even arrogant enough to believe that I could create an ethnography accurate enough that Marshall Islanders would accept as representative of their culture. But an ethnography of the Passamaquoddy tribe? I would not have the luxury of spending years with the Passamaquoddy. At most, it would be a few weeks. I questioned myself about why, about how, and about what I would write when I was done.

The reason why seemed fairly straightforward, given some background. I have been working on setting up an internship that combines my interest in culture and technology. The internship would consist of incorporating the cultural data of the Wasauksing First Nation in Ontario, Canada into a database tied to a mapping program and a web publisher. Students at schools in the area would learn about the histories, the cultures, and the interdependence of their communities from indigenous as well as immigrant perspectives. I thought that by doing research with a Native American community my entry and internship with the Wasauksing First Nation would be easier and more effective.

How I selected the Passamaquoddy to work with evolved through a series of events. I had spoken with several people who had experience with Native American communities, including a Native American in the program. Everyone warned me of the insular nature of the communities, of the distrust and anger at being "objects of study," especially by members of a oppressing group. Through some friends, I learned of the Passamaquoddy tribe in Maine. The tribe was

described to me (by outsiders) as experiencing a cultural renaissance. The tribe was less “studied” than tribes in the Boston area. My friends offered me use of their house while doing my research. I figured it was as close to an ideal situation I could get given the time constraints of the course and the cultural group with whom I wanted to work.

In order to alleviate my feelings of arrogance and satisfy my need for collaboration, I decided that I felt most comfortable with taking a participatory action research (PAR) approach. Through this approach, objectification of the Passamaquoddy would be reduced, if not eliminated. I would be working *with the* Passamaquoddy as a co-researcher and facilitator, blurring the lines of insider and outsider. My primary informant had just received a grant to work on an Intertribal HIV Resource Guide, and my role as facilitator seemed to make sense. It made perfect sense to me, as I had learned a lot about the Marshallese culture through working with people.

The PAR approach ran into what my primary informant termed, *Indian Time*. The time needed to act on the Resource Guide would take much longer than the time I had as a student to complete my course. The realities of driving seven hours from Boston, and having other responsibilities outside of this course constrained the time I could spend with the Passamaquoddy community. It wasn't until the end of my first week-long sojourn to Sipayik that it became clear the PAR approach wasn't going to happen.

I had to reconsider my approach and what I wanted to come out of my research. I wasn't sure about what I would find, what stories people would want to share with me - the researcher, the outsider. I listened to the stories of many people. The realities of their lives are complex and changing. What I began to discover is that oppression and loss are major themes in the consciousness of the community. As I listened, people told me of the challenges they face in employment, with substance abuse, with their cultural identity and their relationship to the world around them.

My struggle at this point is in portraying the Passamaquoddy. What do I focus on? Will there be too much negativity in my portfolio? Can I even hope to achieve a meaningful and respectful portrayal of the culture? I've decided to portray the Passamaquoddy through metaphor. In using the metaphor of the dances performed by the tribe, I hope to create a meaningful and respectful account of what it means to be Passamaquoddy in today's world. Yet I know that no matter what I create, it will necessarily be limited. The content of my portfolio is based on my limited exposure to the people with whom I spoke. I cannot provide an

exhaustive cultural study; I can only provide a mosaic of varying perspectives through the people I encountered. These perspectives are not always positive, may shed light on sensitive issues within the Sipayik community, and have the potential for being misunderstood or misinterpreted. Although I include people's stories, I am the one who decides the perspective from which it is written. In essence, this portrayal is what I understand of the culture, limited in a very real way by a variety of factors. My decision to use the metaphor of traditional dance relates directly to my desire to be respectful to the people whose lives I portray here. Through dance, I hope to contextualize my understanding of Passamaquoddy culture as one which is in the process of *re-creating* itself, of searching for identity and a place in the world. The problems faced by the Passamaquoddy are real, but I hope they will not overshadow the respect I have for the struggles they face as individuals and as a community.

## **Acknowledgments**

There are several people who assisted me during the writing of this portfolio. I wish to thank Jennifer Bridges who served as my primary cultural guide. Jennifer worked with me to identify various tribal members to interview and, in our many conversations, helped me to process the information I gathered. Without her, this project would not have been possible.

I wish to thank Rand Castile, who informed me of various resources that I might consult during this project and spoke with me about the challenges faced by the Passamaquoddy today from an outsider's perspective. I must also thank the parents of the third graders I interviewed for allowing me to interview their children, who seemed to derive such joy from discussing their culture.

I also wish to thank several people without whose help I never would have been able to conduct my research and produce this portfolio: Mary MacArthur, my professor who allowed me to miss several classes and carry out my research in a way that made for a more enriching and exciting learning experience; Tom and Heather Krasuski, who invited me to stay in their beautiful home in Eastport, Maine while I conducted my research; and John and Kathleen Saab, my parents, who allowed me to use their car and helped me travel from Boston to Eastport throughout the semester.

## Welcome Dance

**The Welcome Dance is used to welcome other tribes to one's land. Tribes might come together for a variety of reasons, including discussion of common problems and the inauguration of chiefs. The dance serves to make visitors feel at home and connected to one another.**

## Introduction

This portfolio is my first formal attempt at ethnographic research. It also represents my first experience involving extensive interaction with a Native American community. My decision to develop an ethnography of a Native American culture is related to my internship the following semester, in which I would assist the Wasauksing First Nation of Canada in developing an ethnography of their own.

I conducted interviews, both formal and informal, with members of the Passamaquoddy Tribe of Pleasant Point Reservation (a.k.a. Sipayik) and of Indian Township Reservation (a.k.a. Motahkomikuk), during the months of September, October and November of 1997. Although most of my interviews were conducted with people from Sipayik, I did interview one person from Motahkomikuk who was very informative about the Passamaquoddy culture. My first contacts with the Passamaquoddy were by telephone and allowed me to establish a relationship with my primary cultural guide. I traveled from Boston, MA to Eastport, ME three times during the semester. The first visit was from October 3 - 6 and allowed me to meet several people and explore the natural geography of the area. My second visit was from October 18 - 26 and consisted of several interviews, information gathering and modification of my research plan. My third and final visit was from November 1 - 16 and consisted primarily interviews and the development of a framework in which to portray the culture of the Passamaquoddy.

Throughout this portfolio, I include quotes from the people I interviewed. Many of my informants provided me with sensitive information concerning substance abuse, physical abuse, sexual abuse and/or financial impropriety. Quotes are in *italicized print*, but are not attributed to particular informants. The quotes often include pronouns such as "I" or "we" which may seem somewhat disjunctive and inconsistent with the narrative voice. I retain these pronouns as a way of allowing the reader to experience the actual voice of the person, as if the person were speaking directly to them and telling them a story.

I do not attribute quotes to particular individuals, primarily to maintain the anonymity of my sources and avoid any potential difficulties for them within the community, arising from their disclosure of sensitive information. I also have removed names of individuals within the quoted text in order to protect the anonymity of my sources. Particular quotes should not be inferred as originating with any particular informant. I do include a list of my informants in the Greeting Dance section, however, in order to illustrate the diversity of my informants and as a way of thanking them for helping me to develop this cultural study.

I also want to reiterate the point that this is not an exhaustive cultural study. It presents a mosaic of perspectives offered to me as a researcher. I want to caution the reader that although I speak primarily of women in the Pine Cone Dance section, I do not mean to imply that it is *only* the women who care for the children. Similarly, when I speak of men in the Hunter Dance section, I do not mean to imply that men are the *only* ones who are substance abusers. Both men and women teach their children, just as both men and women are susceptible to substance abuse. I hope that the reader will keep this in mind as they read this portfolio.

I've included historical information in the Peace Pipe section. Most, though not all, of the historical information was taken from written sources and are footnoted as appropriate. Other information contained in this portfolio that was derived from written sources is similarly footnoted.

There are some variations in spelling, especially regarding the words: *abenaki*, *wabanaki*, *wabahnaki*, and *waponahki*. I have used *waponahki* throughout this portfolio for reasons of consistency and because it corresponds to the recently standardized spelling of the Passamaquoddy language.

### **Traditional Dance as Cultural Metaphor**

The Passamaquoddy continue to struggle to establish their cultural identity in the shadow of oppression. Traditional dance, as it is practiced today, is an excellent metaphor for understanding the Passamaquoddy.

The Passamaquoddy have adopted many things from other Native American tribes - crafts, drums, spiritual and religious philosophies, medicines, Native American heroes, and so on. They have also adopted many things from the dominating white culture - schools, government, hunting and fishing techniques, medicines, Catholicism, houses, and so on. Dance had always been part of the Passamaquoddy culture, but the reasons for, the occasions for, and the forms of

dance had been all but lost. The revival of the dances in the 1960's also meant adopting many of the forms of dance from other tribes. At the same time, the traditional dances are reshaped by tribal members so as to make them uniquely Passamaquoddy. They bring their own rhythms, their own language, their memories to the dances and make them their own.

Through this strategy of adoption and reshaping, the Passamaquoddy have managed to survive. In this portfolio, I use the metaphor of traditional dance as a way to explore Passamaquoddy culture. Particular dances serve as lenses for understanding the culture. Each dance has an objective, just as each section of this portfolio has an objective. In this section, entitled Welcome Dance, I offer an Introduction to the portfolio and an explanation of the metaphor of dance. In the section entitled Greeting Dance, I offer a list of dancers (i.e., informants) who helped me to understand Passamaquoddy culture and some background for the revival of the dances. In the section entitled Peace Pipe Ceremony and Dance, I offer an historical context for understanding Passamaquoddy identity and the challenges that face the tribe as they move into the next century. The Pine Cone Dance section offers the perspectives of women, who are the only ones who perform the Pine Cone Dance. The Hunter Dance section offers the perspectives of men and focuses on the conflict surrounding fishing rights in Passamaquoddy Bay. The Eagle Dance section portrays some of the "cultural wounds" suffered by the tribe and the attempts that are being made to reclaim and revitalize the culture. The Snake Dance section offers some perspectives on the challenges faced by the Passamaquoddy in navigating the course between traditional and modern worlds. Finally there is a bibliography, an annotated bibliography and list of resources which may be helpful to the reader who is interested in learning more about Passamaquoddy culture.

## Greeting Dance

The Greeting Dance is performed after all visitors have been welcomed. The dance serves to formally introduce all members of the great council to one another and to provide opportunity to tell the people gathered exactly what is taking place.

### The Dancers

**Jennifer Bridges:** early 30's, working as the Community Health Nurse at Sipayik, lives in Eastport, Maine.

**David Francis:** early 80's, Passamaquoddy language expert writing Volume 2 of the Passamaquoddy dictionary, lives on Sipayik reservation.

**Joseph Nicholas (a.k.a. Cozy):** early 70's, curator of Waponahki Museum at Sipayik, lives on Sipayik reservation.

**Fred Paul:** early 50's, known as the "medicine man" of the tribe, lives on Sipayik reservation.

**Clara Keezer:** late 60's, award-winning basket maker, lives on Sipayik reservation.

**Rocky Keezer:** early 30's, basket maker, lives on Sipayik reservation.

**Richard Keezer:** early 40's, drum maker and wood carver, lives on Sipayik reservation.

**William "Eric" Altvater:** late 30's, Lt. Governor of the Passamaquoddy Tribe, lives on Sipayik reservation.

**Elizabeth Martin:** mid-30's, Director of the Health Center at Motahkomikuk, lives on Motahkomikuk reservation.

**Grace Davis:** late 40's, Passamaquoddy language and culture teacher's aide at Beatrice Rafferty School, lives on Sipayik reservation.

**Chris Altvater:** mid-30's, guidance counselor at Beatrice Rafferty School, lives on Sipayik reservation.

**Shirley Mitchell:** late 40's, principal of Beatrice Rafferty School, lives on Sipayik reservation.

***Members of the Third Grade Class at Beatrice Rafferty School: Brett Lewey, Lewis Evans, Nicole "Tutti" Altvater, Norma Randi, Kylie Neptune, Amanda Rose Ohmeis, Jacob Stanley, and Harley Andoscia.***

### **Revival of the Dances, Part One**

"But the journey home is hard. We have been too long from the campfire. We have burned our strong spirit and honorable intent beneath generations of pain and anger shrouded by facades of success. We have met the need to compete to survive by using the same oppressive strategies of our oppressors. We have overcompensated for being different; we accept the burden of feeling inferior; we have tried to pass as white. We forgot or concealed who we are."

George E. Bennet, Robert Kewaygoshkum, Dr. Robin Milstead, and Terri Dell Cobb, "A Hard Journey Home," *Winds of Change, Spring 1997*, p. 16.

Such was the motivation behind Joseph Nicholas's formation of a dance group in 1965. Joseph (a.k.a. Cozy), along with Mary Moore (deceased), started a dance group to teach the Passamaquoddy children traditional dance. Cozy had just returned to the reservation at Sipayik after having lived for a few years in Bangor working as a barber. He was unsettled by the fact that none of the young people seemed to know what it meant to be Passamaquoddy. In fact, the young people of the reservation seemed to reject nearly everything that was part of their cultural heritage.

It's not surprising that in 1965, after more than 350 years of oppression, that young Passamaquoddy would reject their culture. At that *time, as far as the United States was concerned*, the Passamaquoddy tribe didn't even exist. It wasn't until 1975, *Passamaquoddy Tribe v Morton*, which is a judge who was US judge, they challenged him in court to be recognized. Before that, as far as the government was concerned, there was no such thing as the Passamaquoddy Tribe. The State of Maine had recognized the tribe and used to have an Indian Agent who would come every once in a while and give out aid from the state - some money to buy clothes, trucks loaded with firewood and they'd drop off two or three cords of wood here, and wood there, and then people'd just cut it up and used it to heat their houses. There were only 33 houses on the reservation. There were very few people who actually resided on the reservation. Most people moved away. They couldn't make a half decent living around here, so they had to move off the reservation.

*For 500 years, when Europeans came and they look at native peoples as being less than they are, tell them they're dirty, they stink, call their women squaws, and just degrading you..., 4-500 years of that shit being drilled into you has an effect on your whole society and you feel that you're inferior now. If you feel that you're inferior from the beginning, how are you going to stand up to somebody from the outside who is educated and has a little bit of money in their back pocket?*

Native Americans have been oppressed for centuries, and by 1965 the Passamaquoddy were faced with the extinction of their culture. Cozy, who had learned the dances from his grandparents, had always derived a sense of pride and inner strength from dancing to the rhythm of a drum. He says it's hard to express in words the feelings that accompany dancing, but that dancing generates self-worth and pride. So he and Mary Moore revived the traditional dances in order to develop the pride necessary to reverse the loss of self-esteem among the Passamaquoddy children and prevent the extinction of their culture. The children were taught the history of the traditional dances, the narratives that accompanied the dances, and were given the opportunity to develop an inner pride as Passamaquoddy. They began with the dances that began to tell the story of who they are: the Welcome Dance, the Greeting Dance, the Peace Pipe Ceremonial and Dance, the Green Corn Dance, the Hunter's Dance, the Eagle Dance, the Wedding Ceremonial and Dance, and the Snake Dance.

## Peace Pipe Ceremonial and Dance

**The Peace Pipe Ceremonial and Dance is a means of establishing a common purpose, understanding, and harmonious ways of working together. In this shared experience, the pipe was filled with sacred tobacco and passed from one chief to the next and to those assembled. The host chief would then elevate the peace pipe towards the four compass directions before extending it skyward, with the smoke curling in the air, as a tribute to the maker of all life.**

### Historical Background

The Passamaquoddy Tribe is a Native American Indian culture whose roots in Northern New England and the Canadian Maritimes reach back 10,000 years. The tribe is part of the larger group of Waponahki peoples which includes the Micmac, Maliseet, Penobscot and Passamaquoddy. The Passamaquoddy live in the area surrounding the Passamaquoddy Bay which is currently located along the political boundary of New Brunswick, Canada and Maine, USA.

French Jesuits established a base on St. Croix Island, located near the mouth of the St. Croix river, and were successful in converting the Passamaquoddy to Christianity in 1604. Since that time, the Passamaquoddy have been primarily Catholic.

The Treaty of 1794 established the Passamaquoddy Pleasant Point Reservation (Sipayik) in Maine. Because of internal struggles, in 1851 some Passamaquoddy asked the State if they could move away from Pleasant Point to live on their land near Princeton, Maine (Motahkomikuk).[1] Traditionally, Sipayik had been utilized in the summer, Motahkomikuk during the winter. The reservations, consisting of one people and one cultural group, are separate and maintain separate administrations, yet often conduct joint tribal council meetings, and both belong to the larger Waponahki Confederacy.

The United States' government policies regarding Native Americans has shifted many times during its history. The General Allotment Act of 1887 attempted to make tribal members individual landowners and farmers, encouraging their absorption into white society. The Indian Reorganization Act of 1934 officially ended the allotment period and attempts were made to purchase land within preexisting reservations to restore an adequate land base to the tribes. In the 1940's and 50's the government tried to get out of the "Indian business" and unilaterally ended the special status that protected the land in tribal reservations. It also transferred responsibility for the tribes to state governments while

encouraging the relocation of Indian peoples from reservations to urban areas and the hastening of the termination of tribes. In the 1960's the policy shifted again from termination to self- determination and restored the protective role of the federal government.[2]

In 1980, President Carter signed the Maine Indian Claims Settlement Act. *The reason why the federal government was so anxious to settle the claims to the land was there was a cloud of title on all of the land. Back in 1790, there was a law passed in Congress, called the Trade and Intercourse Act, which basically said that any land transactions between natives and non-natives had to be approved through an act of Congress. So from that time forward, all through the 1800's and up until 1980, there hadn't been any transactions that had been specifically approved by the US Congress. So all these transfers of land, or purchases, or whatever you want to call them, had really been considered illegal. And because of it, municipal governments couldn't issue bonds so they could generate revenue for improvements. Banks were saying, "Geez, look, I don't even know if I should lend you this money, cause I don't know if this guy's the real owner or not because of this land claims settlement going on." The government stepped in and more or less said they want to take care of this issue - and at that time Jimmy Carter was president, there was a budget surplus, they were in better shape financially - and being a Democratic president was more amicable to settlement with the Indians. That was the other thing that was put out there, that Ronald Reagan was coming in and he was a lot tighter and would be harder to deal with - Democrats are more social program oriented as opposed to the Republicans. We were being told by various people that if we don't settle now, we would lose everything.*

With the Land Claims Settlement Act, *the Passamaquoddy and Penobscot relinquished title to 2/3 of the State of Maine for a few pennies. . . . We sold land for \$6/acre with the privilege of being able to buy some of it back at \$125/acre. Just from that standpoint alone, I think it was a pretty raw deal.* However, the settlement awarded \$81.5M to the tribes from the federal government. The Passamaquoddy invested much of the money and have bought various businesses such as a blueberry farm and a cement manufacturer.

Today, 17 years later, the Passamaquoddy are facing some serious financial problems. *The squandering away of millions of dollars after the land claims settlement engendered a lot of distrust of the tribal government, such that it's hard to do anything. We don't have any capital to entice businesses here. Before going out and enticing businesses here, we need to get our own financial house in order. The money is coming from the Federal government and the sale of*

*Dragon Cement - which the tribe bought for \$16M in '88 and sold for \$70M five years later to CDN. We have very little land for business development. We have forest land, but it isn't close to any real infrastructure. The efforts[at stimulating the economy] are "frustrating" efforts.*

## **Realities of Oppression**

For the Passamaquoddy, oppression is a common, even dominant, theme in people's consciousness. Nearly every person interviewed for this portfolio commented in some way regarding the oppression they experienced. Several interviews were conducted soon after Columbus Day, and nearly all people I interviewed see this holiday as the beginning of a dark and oppressive period for Passamaquoddy culture that has yet to end. They soundly reject the celebration of Columbus Day and would rather celebrate Indian Day held at the end of summer.

In order to understand the Passamaquoddy people, one must understand the nature of their oppression. One must consider the loss of their land; their forced dependency on the welfare system; the ridicule they faced from non-native people for speaking English with an accent; the cycles of physical, emotional and sexual abuse created by unethical school administrators and clergy; and the government policies which attempted to force them to assimilate into the dominating white culture, yet denied them the right to vote in the State of Maine until 1957.

The Passamaquoddy were often viewed by white settlers as welfare recipients and vagrants, rather than the original inhabitants of the land.[3] Unable to be self-sufficient on reservations and unaccepted by white society, the Passamaquoddy were forced into dependency upon the state and federal governments. They were often at the mercy of a white, state-appointed official who administered Indian affairs and who had control over the funds to dispense as he chose.

In the 1960's, the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) established a policy that "encouraged" (i.e., forced) the teaching of English in the schools. *There used to be 5 teacher's aides who spoke Passamaquoddy[at the school]. But at one point the BIA required that the children learn English in order for them to qualify for jobs, college, etc. Now there is only one Passamaquoddy-speaking teacher's aide left at the school. She is not certified to teach the language, however. Actually because of state regulations and requirements for certification to teach, there aren't any qualified people to teach Passamaquoddy in the school. This*

*mostly stems from the fact that there aren't any people in the state agencies who are able to certify anyone in Passamaquoddy language teaching.*

The realities of oppression for Native Americans in the U.S. are complex and far-reaching. Patricia Riley's anthology, *Growing Up Native American*[4], gives voice to the oppression suffered by the aboriginal inhabitants of North America.

Through short stories, Native American authors portray the injustices they faced, the abuse they suffered, and the strength they derive from their cultural heritage to stand up to the oppression. The stories are heartfelt and moving accounts of the struggles faced by people from many different tribes. They provide a far better account of the plight of Native Americans than I ever could in this portfolio. This collection of short stories provides a context from which to understand Native Americans, including the Passamaquoddy, and the oppression they face even today.

The Passamaquoddy are struggling to revive their cultural heritage which has been devastated and had nearly been extinguished. In the 1960's the Passamaquoddy began to reclaim and revitalize their culture, but because of the centuries of oppression, the dwindling numbers of tribal members, and the loss of many of their cultural activities, they began to adopt things from other Native American cultures. This theme of adoption surfaces again and again when talking about the Passamaquoddy. Today, one will find a mixture of traditions which the Passamaquoddy are reshaping as their own.

## Pine Cone Dance

**The Pine Cone dance is performed only by women. It is a way for women to honor the area in which they live. The dance talks about how a pine needle dances in the wind and how it will twist and turn and dance around.**

## Women and Matrilineage

Passamaquoddy culture is matrilineal. Traditionally, when a young couple marries, the man moves into the woman's family's home. This is still common, though not exclusively true, today. Over the last century or so, many men and women moved away from the reservation. Oftentimes people moved in search of economic opportunities or to pursue a relationship and raise a family with a non-Passamaquoddy. After the Land Claims Settlement, many people who had moved away returned to the reservation, bringing with them values and behaviors alien to Passamaquoddy culture. Women, who sit at the core of Passamaquoddy culture, are today faced with maintaining the strong family relationships in contrast to the more individualistic influences brought by those returning to the reservation.

The women are the caretakers of the home and the dominant force in parenting. They are recognized as heads of the household and one will often hear stories of the strong influence of grandmothers, mothers, and aunts in the lives of both men and women. Though many of the traditional tasks they once performed, such as making birch baskets and bowls, tanning hides, tending crops, and gathering maple syrup, are no longer practiced, the tasks women performed usually kept them close to home. Today women may or may not work close to home, but the responsibilities of raising families and taking care of the home still fall within their purview.

Women teach the children the importance of relationships and the value of a strong family. Children learn these lessons at a young age, as illustrated by one informant: *I was at one of my cousin's children's birthday with all of my children. My youngest daughter was about two and a half at the time, and one of my older daughters was about five. It was time to open the birthday presents. The group of kids gathered around as she opened the birthday presents. The little one got off my lap to go see, but was blocked by the other kids from seeing. I thought she might come back to me and tell me she couldn't see, but instead she went up to her older sister and tapped her on the back. [The older child] looked around and saw her baby sister there and automatically said, "Oh, come here, babe," and put*

*her in front of her. That's what I teach my children, to help each other that way. [The younger child] even knew how to do that when she was two and a half. So that tells me that I'm being successful in what I teach my children - to be good problem solvers for each other, and be there for each other, and not to be selfish. . . .*

Within Passamaquoddy culture, adults include children in nearly every aspect of traditional life. Children are welcome to join in any of the ceremonial dances no matter how young they are. *Usually the adults, whether related or not, will watch out for your children and will ask them to join them by holding hands - even if they don't know how to dance or even if it slows them down. They're accepted. My children danced, all four of them, and even my two and a half year old would walk around trying to dance, trying to mimic what she was seeing and hearing. [Another woman], who really doesn't know my children - she knows me, but not my children - reached down and grabbed my daughter's hand and danced with her around the grounds. That's something that's significant - the love of children and the value of children.*

Traditionally, adults watch out for children regardless of whether they are related to them. *If other people's parents saw you doing something wrong, your parents would know. When people who had moved away from the reservation began to move back around 1980, they brought with them unfavorable influences[that had been] bred into them. Now, people get offended about it being "my kid" and tell you to mind your own business.*

Women teach the children the critical skills of resolving disputes, as described by one of my informants: *One of the things I tell them, especially when they fight, is that they need to be able to fight and be able to resolve those issues, but they shouldn't be unwilling to work on any difficulties because some day I will be gone, their father will be gone, and they will only have each other. They need to be able to resolve whatever issues there is so that they can be there for each other, when I can't be. That was something that I learned from my grandmother and my mother.*

Passamaquoddy women face many challenges in their attempts to raise their families, but they have a strong sense of identity. Oppression has not alleviated their sense of responsibility for raising their families, though it has made it more difficult.

## Hunter Dance

**The Hunter Dance portrays a hunter on a hunting expedition. Long ago, when a war club was his only weapon, the hunter needed to be very skillful in order to get close enough to the animal to kill it. The hunter would slouch down to the ground and portray the signal as if he were tracking his game. He would look around and shade his eyes from the sun as he continued to track his game. Then, as he got close enough to his prey, he would swing his club for the kill.**

## Men and Economics

Passamaquoddy men traditionally carried out strenuous and dangerous tasks, such as hunting and warfare. They also harvested trees for constructing the frames of longhouses and canoes.[5] In 1794, when the treaty was signed between the Commonwealth of Massachusetts and the Passamaquoddy tribe, the Passamaquoddy were forced to relinquish over one million acres of land to the Commonwealth and were restricted to Sipayik.

Passamaquoddy culture values restraint and self control, with loud outbursts of anger being discouraged. Concern for others is valued, selfishness discouraged. Hunters were admired as much for their generosity as for their skill.[6] The value of restraint did not allow men to outwardly express their frustration at losing their traditional hunting lands. Men had lost their primary role and the activity which contributed to their sense of identity and self-worth, the effects of which are still visible today, primarily in terms of substance abuse. *Men lost their roles when the reservations were established. They were pacified by the white man. The women, who did not want to cause conflict, forgave the men their transgressions and did not hold them responsible for unacceptable behavior related to substance abuse. The men were given more freedom and forgiveness for their transgressions because of what had been taken away from them. I remember my grandmother and my mother instilling that in me, that I was to forgive my father's and my uncles' behavior because they lost the primary way of asserting their identity.*

Tribal members get angry at the characterization of them as lazy, drunk welfare-recipients. Such stereotypes are common in describing Native Americans, including the Passamaquoddy. Stereotypes are limiting and the Passamaquoddy express frustration at being characterized as a bunch of alcoholics. On the other hand, they recognize that dependency on alcohol by many members of the tribe is a problem, one which has affected every family and every member of the community. What [outsiders] *do not understand is that affected does not mean*

users. They are angry that the outside world is unable to distinguish between “users” and families who are “affected” by substance abuse.

The Passamaquoddy were forced into dependency upon the state. Being *in the welfare state, being dependent on dependency doesn't help. It's not conducive to enabling one to stand on one's own two feet. It all boils down to self-esteem, the low levels of which are the root of 99.9% of our problems.* They were often forced to seek out seasonal work as blueberry pickers or to travel to agricultural fairs selling baskets made constructed from splints of ash wood. Though such work did not allow the Passamaquoddy to completely escape their dependency on welfare - unemployment within the community is still grossly out of proportion to the rest of the area - it did allow them to find some sense of pride in themselves: *Having a sense of pride, having earned your worldly possessions, that's where one's sense of self-esteem comes from. And that's why we need employment for tribal members on the reservation. The community's screaming for that. The unemployment rate is 50 - 60%, where Washington County itself is 12-14%.*

As mentioned in the Pine Cone Dance section, many tribal members moved away, only to return after the Land Claims Settlement. Returning tribal members brought with them values which were alien to the Passamaquoddy culture. *It used to be that you could walk into anyone's house, even wait for them. Even though that doesn't sound like very much, look at the sense of continuity[within the community]. Everyone knew everyone else, and if someone was having a hard time, everybody would come over and help. Nobody ever went hungry. And now, because when people moved back, they brought this jealousy . . . . We're all just like a bunch of crabs in a bucket. Now, when one crab gets up to the edge, the other crabs grab him and try to bring him right back down. Instead of letting one crab get to the edge of the bucket and letting another crab get to the edge of the bucket, and then help everyone else get out of the bucket, we just keep pulling each other down.*

There is another value, however, which has begun to serve the Passamaquoddy well in recent times. Tribal members have begun to assert themselves, both individually and collectively, and are standing up for what they believe are their indigenous rights. The following section examines this assertiveness more closely.

## **Fishing Rights**

Passamaquoddy is the anglicized version of the word, peskotomuhkatiyik, which means “pollock people.” Fishing has always been part of Passamaquoddy life.

*One of oldest symbols depicting the Passamaquoddy is two men in a canoe with a porpoise underneath, which is currently housed in the Smithsonian. Even though they had lost most of their land, the Passamaquoddy still had marine resources to draw upon. Passamaquoddy men learn how to fish through experience, from their fathers and uncles who take them fishing when they are children. Traditionally, men made their own canoes, spears, fishing lines and hooks. Today, however, they use engine-powered boats and modern fishing equipment.*

The Maine Indian Claims Settlement Act of 1980 dealt extensively with the land claims of the Passamaquoddy and the use of lands and inland waterways. The fishing rights of the Passamaquoddy and the use of salt water resources, however, is contested. The State of Maine contends that the Settlement Act made tribal members subject to state law like other residents and that the state has jurisdiction over salt water fishing in its waters. Tribal members contend that they do not need state licenses because they have an ancestral right to fish in salt water that they did not give away when they signed the land claims settlement.[7] *Since 1982-3, the tribe has been trying to bring this issue up to the Maine Indian Tribe State Commission (MITSC) to resolve the salt water issues. MITSC has been ineffective in trying to deal with any issues regarding the Indian Land Claims Settlement Act. Up until 1985, the state hadn't been bothering anyone. In 1985, state started issuing summonses. We had to start pushing back.*

Thirteen Passamaquoddy men have been issued summonses for violating state fishing regulations and fishing without licenses. The men fish mostly for subsistence, not for recreational or commercial reasons. For them, it is a way to feed their families, a way to assume their roles as providers, which had been taken away from them when they were forced onto the reservation. Although subsistence is the primary purpose for the men to fish, using modern equipment such as power boats, fishing line, nets, and so on, requires them to sell part of their catch in order to buy fuel and replace worn out equipment. The state disagrees with the Passamaquoddy and argues that Passamaquoddy fishermen must adhere to the regulations established by the state. The state contends that the Passamaquoddy are citizens of the state, and cannot act as a separate state within a state.

One practice that has generated the most controversy is the porpoise hunt. The Marine Mammal Protection Act, a federal statute, protects the harbor porpoise from hunters. The harbor porpoise is one of the traditional foods hunted by the Passamaquoddy. The Passamaquoddy men, who have the support of the tribal

government, see the porpoise hunt as crucial to their indigenous rights and their cultural identity. To them, hunting the porpoise is a sacred activity, *critical to one's identity as Passamaquoddy, as a member of a tribe which has done the same for thousands of years. It's part of the history, the tradition, and hunting the porpoise is an attempt to perpetuate one's culture, to maintain one's heritage. What could be more sacred than attempting to survive as an individual or as a culture?*

Not everyone believes that the hunting of the porpoise is a sacred activity, however, or that it should receive the attention it has. Some members of the community feel that it is an attempt to assert the tribe's sovereignty rights and *would rather see [the tribal government] focus on the issues of drug dealers on the reservation, and domestic violence on the reservation - and actually doing a zero tolerance for that. I would like to see them develop tribal codes that would enforce a zero tolerance for those types of behavior. I would like to see them take a greater interest in what our children were doing, whether it's in school or out of school. Those types of things, . . . , are more important than porpoise hunting.* Non-Passamaquoddy have chimed in and contend that if porpoise hunting is such a sacred activity, then why not hunt them in the traditional manner, with traditional canoes and spears, rather than with power boats and guns? The response of some Passamaquoddy men is that the methods employed in the porpoise hunt are irrelevant, and that without power boats, the hunters would not be able to evade the law enforcement officials who are wrongly interfering with their indigenous rights.

## Eagle Dance

The Eagle Dance portrays the story of an eagle after he has been shot. couple of times he comes down, and then tries to survive by taking off again. But each time becoming weaker, and then takes off very slowly. And the dance is performed that way - fast at first, the wound is getting increasingly worse, and it's affecting him. He gets slower. Eventually the eagle tries to take off and the eagle feather's that he is wearing fall down to the ground. He bows his head and the eagle dies. We're telling a story about the natural instinct in all of us: It's to survive.

## Kmihqitahasultipon Project

Kmihqitahasultipon is Passamaquoddy for "We Remember." The project, funded by a grant through the Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration, makes available a wide range of services to parents and families. Services include parent education, child behavior education, respite care and crisis intervention. The project is culturally-based and its major goal is to restore Passamaquoddy culture and traditions to the daily life of families and children. The name stems from a meeting where a question was raised: "*What is the thing that we remember the most about back a long time ago when things were different?*"

*What we seemed to remember was that the community had a great strength, and that it still does have a strong ability to be there when there is a crisis. One person in particular remembered when he was a young boy, women, - and even men, only one time he remembers men - when there was a crisis in the family, usually two or three women went together into that home to get things stabilized. That was usually one thing that they did regularly. They would go in, whether it was making sure the children got fed, or taking care of sick persons, they would go as a group and they would help that family through that crisis. So, from this meeting, the group came up with the name "Kmihqitahasultipon." It means we, collectively, remember. We remember what was inherently and intuitively inside Passamaquoddy people. [The project will] hopefully make our community stronger, not just to meet the mental health needs of the children in our community, but develop a stronger vision and become stronger as a community and as family, because we are all related in some way or another.*

The six members of the community who work as part of this project underwent an intensive 6 week, 40 hr/wk, training program. They developed skills and knowledge regarding child development, crisis intervention, parenting skills,

suicide, and so on. *A large part of it was based on team building - working out issues among staff so that they could work effectively as a team. They took a great deal of time to build a group consensus on what it was they wanted to accomplish. Part of identifying what it meant to be Passamaquoddy was really important, so the staff wouldn't be seen as being judgmental. When non-native people come into the community, 90% of the time they're there to tell you what's wrong with what you're doing. We worked very hard at being able to select and pick up the strengths that are seen. We have a single mom who's high risk for abuse, and she may holler at her young child, but she spends a good amount of time rocking them. Rather than look at the yelling, we would praise her for holding her baby, and then eventually work at developing different ways of disciplining her child - more positive reinforcement rather than negative.*

The Kmihqitahasultipon project is an attempt by the community to break out of the cycle of abuse they believe is symptomatic of post traumatic stress disorder (PTSD). The oppression described in the Peace Pipe section of this portfolio has been characterized, by the community itself, as trauma - *affecting this community over the last 400 years - whether it's been death, whether it's been suicide or homicide.... We have a large adult population that were sexually abused by Catholic priests - every person's nightmare. We have people who have had traumatic experiences from being beaten because they spoke their native tongue. All of those impact every person, every family around here. And a lot of the families, even though they don't realize what PTSD is, they actually have the symptomology that goes along with that - anxiety, nightmares, flashbacks, all the usual things like that.*

During their training the staff looked closely at issues of shame and guilt so as to help them be more effective with the families with whom they'd be working. As they saw it, *there was no way to be exempt from the shame, the guilt, that Passamaquoddy had experienced growing up - whether it was shame or guilt that was inflicted upon them from their families, or whether it was inflicted by the outside world. There was a lot of shame and guilt and isolation that every person has felt. Their approach to deal with the shame and guilt was to look at the more positive things in their clients' lives as a way of breaking out of that cycle of abuse and the shame and guilt arising out of it. If people felt comfort at listening to drumming, if they felt comfortable participating in the sweat lodge, the staff encourage and facilitate those activities. Sometimes clients weren't comfortable with expressive or group activities and they would do things more individually by saying their daily prayer to the Great Spirit and asking for strength, and forgiveness if they had to, or make offerings. The focus of any intervention was on how each individual felt comfortable in doing those things and what that*

*meant to them. If they didn't feel comfortable in doing those things, then they didn't.* The staff members assist the families in channeling energy into positive and culturally appropriate activities, rather than continue with the negative and abusive behaviors resulting from the oppression and traumatization of the Passamaquoddy people.

The process of matching one of the staff to work with a family in crisis consists of a blending of traditional and modern approaches. Staff members' training is individualized, focusing on developing and enhancing their skills, which are often different from one another. *We are selective with who we pair up with which family. We try to get the best match. If somebody has a connection with that family, other than an immediate relative, we will send that person into that home. So we try to do the best match that we think will work. If it were a staff member's (extended) family that were in crisis, they would send in that staff member for a short period of time. To do any long-term work, we would send someone else who wasn't immediately related to that person. If I was in crisis, they would not send my sister to do that. They may send her initially, but they would not have her as my long-term provider, just to keep those relationships a little more separate. It's important to keep those relationships separate because a lot of times an immediate relative isn't as objective, especially in times of crisis. Families tend to be a little bit more judgmental, in one thing or another, and may not be thinking as clearly as someone else would, or may not see things the same way as others.*

## **Survival through the Children**

The reservation at Sipayik has an elementary school named after a Catholic nun who lived among the Passamaquoddy for 50 years and who died in the mid 1980's. The Beatrice Rafferty School consists of grades K - 8. Many of the teachers are either Passamaquoddy or married to Passamaquoddy tribal members. The school seems much like any suburban school - with classrooms, desks, computers, library, gym, cafeteria, and so on. Walking through the school one might see teachers lecturing, children working together on projects or playing educational games on the computers, or children lining up for lunch in the cafeteria. One might also notice that children practice traditional dance in the gym, that the Passamaquoddy language being spoken by teachers and children, and that plaques on the wall honor Native American heroes and chiefs. Children are also allowed a great deal of freedom to explore their interests, and are often engaged in unstructured learning activities.

Children are surrounded by symbols of Native American culture at the school. The children's understanding of Passamaquoddy culture reflects the adoption of symbols and practices from other tribes. Indians in native costume, eagles and eagle feathers, teepees, drums, campfires, fish, dream catchers and buffalo represent aspects of Passamaquoddy culture to the children. Teepees, dream catchers and buffalo were not symbols of traditional Passamaquoddy culture but were adopted from other tribes. To the 3rd graders, these symbols are part of who they are as Passamaquoddy.

The children explain these symbols primarily in terms of nature and sacredness. To them, being Indian means being part of the natural environment. Even the teepees and drums, though man-made, are made from natural materials such as trees and animal skins. Nature holds a place of respect to the children, and they see themselves as part of nature. To reinforce this notion of unity with nature, almost everything is labeled as sacred. Eagles, eagle feathers, drumming, costumes, and so on are sacred to the children. They are to treat sacred things with care and respect.

Eagles are especially prominent in the minds of the eight year olds. Eagles are sacred. They are not the property of man, and man shouldn't disturb the eagles at all. Eagle feathers are valuable commodities and are used in headdresses, dream catchers, and for blessing, praying and smudging. The children offer various explanations of how they might come to possess an eagle feather. They might think that the eagle wants him to have it; that gravity was responsible for the feather falling near them; that the eagle gave him a feather so that the Indian would like the eagle; or that the Creator wanted him to have one. And they are always sure to take care of the eagle feathers by wrapping them in red cloth to keep them safe. Caring for the eagle feathers, they believe, will bring them good luck.

The children are very friendly and welcoming of strangers. They are very enthusiastic about teaching outsiders about their dances and language. They will invite outsiders to join with them in dances and especially enjoy the Eagle and Snake dances. The girls take pride in performing the Pine Cone Dance, which is reserved for them. The boys' and girls' Passamaquoddy language skills consist mostly of vocabulary words of various animals and short phrases. Since the language is not formally taught, they receive vocabulary lessons for about an hour each week. The children are at different stages of language fluency depending primarily on whether or not Passamaquoddy is spoken at home by their parents.

If given the opportunity, some of the children say that they would like to teach others (outsiders) about Indian Day. Indian Day, celebrated each year at the end of summer, gives others a chance to learn about the Passamaquoddy culture and language. Adults and children drum and perform traditional dances. To them, the best part of Indian Day is that *it's about Indians!*

## Snake Dance

**The Snake Dance is usually the last dance performed at any gathering. The dancers select people from the audience to join them until everyone who is able and willing forms a great circle by holding each other's hands. The lead dancer then leads the group on a winding path imitating the movements of a snake. The Snake Dance is a great joy because it connects all members of the tribe into a symbolic whole.**

### Revival of the Dances, Part Two

As part of a recent celebration, the community held a night of dances in the school gym. There was something different about this celebration, however. Instead of just the women and children performing, the men got together and danced the Hunter Dance. It was an exciting time for the children, who witnessed for the first time their fathers and uncles dancing the traditional dances.

Cozy, who had retired as leader of the dances six years previously, had been approached by the men. *They came and said, "Could you drum for us?" I said, "Sure." They asked how we were going to do this. I said we'd do one dance, the hunter dance. We went to the library to practice. When it came time, they were going to put us at the end of the program, but I asked if we could go on ahead while we've got these men motivated, so the kids can actually see the grown ups. I went out with the drum and said that the men of the community were going to perform and to give them a big hand. They started coming out. They formed a circle. They danced in a couple times, they danced out. Every time I would give them a command in my native tongue, they would turn. Towards the end, I really beat the drum pretty fast. They were alright. They really got high that day and really enjoyed it. I told them that any time they want to get together like this, I'd teach them.*

*It was a good experience. They all came, they all helped each other, just for that dance. It got them interested. The men have always been reluctant to perform in the ceremonies. Even with the men warriors, there were some left feet out there. But I'm telling you, they were putting everything into it, and when they saw the reaction of the women and children, they were so happy about the whole thing. They were happy at being able to do something in unity. It only took about 15 minutes to rehearse them for that one dance because I told them not to worry, that I'd give them the instructions as I sing along. Everyone thought I was singing the chants, but I was giving instructions. Some of them were reluctant, some were out for the first time.*

*I was glad to do it. I felt pretty good myself to know that it generated something within them. It's got to be good to generate that interest. There always has to be parent involvement in order to continue [traditional cultural practices] because most kids, if left by themselves, will cultivate other interests. If the kids are encouraged, no matter what it is, they will succeed.*

The dances allowed the men to access a part of themselves which had lay dormant for a long time. But at that moment, they experienced the joy of unity, of connectedness to their cultural heritage. It wasn't an intellectual exercise; it was an experience of the heart. For a brief moment, the men, women, and children of the Passamaquoddy tribe were connected, celebrating themselves.

### **Navigating Two Worlds**

Maintaining that connection is much more difficult. The Passamaquoddy no longer live in a world where they can live solely off their land and the bay. They are still faced with many real-world problems borne of oppression, such as domestic violence, substance abuse and unemployment.

Like the eagle portrayed in the dance, they are struggling to survive as a culture. They have been learning how to adapt to the world around them. Most people no longer work in a subsistence based economy, rather they work in offices, with computers. They travel outside the reservation - for school, for relationships and raising families, for their jobs. Those returning to the reservation bring with them values from the outside world. The community has a measure of autonomy they haven't had in a very long time because of the land claims settlement and the efforts of people to restore pride in their cultural heritage.

Will they survive as a culture? Some people are more optimistic than others. Some believe that by adopting and reshaping many traditional cultural practices, the Passamaquoddy will be able to survive. They have done a good job with the young children, instilling in them a sense of what it means to be Passamaquoddy and their connection with nature. They must still find the means to help their young adults maintain an interest in traditional practices, such as drumming and dancing, while helping them to avoid substance abuse and the perpetuation of cycles of abuse. The Kmihqitahasultipon project is making efforts to do break these cycles. Other people believe that it's only a matter of time before the Passamaquoddy disappear. Tribal membership enrollment is based on having at least one- quarter Passamaquoddy blood. There are families in which some siblings are registered tribal members while others are not because of the blood rule. Through intermarriage with non-Passamaquoddy, the dilution of pure

Passamaquoddy blood, and thereby the diminishing tribal enrollment, is inevitable. Therefore, they say, it's only a matter of time before there are no more Passamaquoddy.

Culture is not genetic, however. And while tribal membership is based on a legal concept of blood quantities, one's cultural identity and worldview are not. The Passamaquoddy have been able to use the strategy of adoption and reshaping to their advantage. They have been able to maintain, and sometimes blend, traditional spiritual beliefs and Catholicism, traditional herbal medicines and a modern health clinic, state-mandated education requirements and traditional educational practices, traditional leadership and modern forms of government. They have adapted the cultural practices of helping each other in times of crisis to the delivery of services within the Kmihqitahasultipon Project. They are working on ways to expand the use of Passamaquoddy language, which they view as essential to maintaining a uniquely Passamaquoddy worldview.

The Passamaquoddy recognize that theirs is a constant struggle to maintain their culture. They continue to search for ways that will enable them to more fully integrate traditional beliefs and practices into their daily lives. A final prayer to the Creator, from the video, *Wabanaki - A New Dawn*, [8] sums it up best:

We know the worth of what you have given us.  
We believe in all we have been given.  
We are thankful for all that has been left to us.  
We also see our responsibility to share with  
and give this to those yet to come, the native ways.

Give us the strength so we will be able to do that  
so these children, who are standing here, those who are listening,  
so that their children and grandchildren, and those coming in their future,  
will see and feel the native ways which have been passed on to us.

We share it with them again on this day. We put this here so that they will  
pick it up and take it with them into the future.

## Endnotes

[1] *Maine Indians: Brief Summary: The People of the Early Dawn*, Waponahki Museum and Resource Center, Perry, ME, [no date].

[2] Calloway, Colin G., 1989. *The Abenaki*, New York: Chelsea House Publishers, pp. 10-11.

[3] Calloway, Colin G., 1989. *The Abenaki*, New York: Chelsea House Publishers, p. 83.

[4] see the Annotated Bibliography at the end of this portfolio for a full reference.

[5] Calloway, Colin G., 1989. *The Abenaki*, New York: Chelsea House Publishers, p. 31.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 28.

[7] "Indian fishing case stalled," *Bangor Daily News*, October 24, 1997, p. 1.

[8] See Annotated Bibliography for a full reference.

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“Indian fishing case stalled,” Bangor Daily News, Friday, October 24, 1997, p. 1.

“Mental health grant totaling \$7 million awarded to tribe,” The Quoddy Tides, Friday, October 24, 1997, p. 29.

“Passamaquoddys press tribal claims to St. Andrews land,” Bangor Daily News, Thursday, October 23, 1997, p. 1.

“The Deadliest Drug: Tribe looks inward for the way out,” Portland Press Herald, Saturday, October 25, 1997, p. 1.

“Tribal officials say residents of St. Andrews are trespassing,” The Quoddy Tides, Friday, October 24, 1997, p. 1.

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*Winds of Change, A Magazine for American Indian Education & Opportunity*, AISES Publishing, Inc., 5661 Airport Blvd., Boulder, CO 80301-2339.

## **Annotated Bibliography**

Calloway, Colin G., 1989. *The Abenaki*, New York: Chelsea House Publishers. Part of a series of children’s books entitled, *Indians of North America*, this volume provides a good overview of the history of the Abenaki tribes of northern New England. It portrays the Abenaki tribes, including the Passamaquoddy, from their early history to the modern day. There are sections on society, art, culture, encounters with Europeans, wars, etc.

Dorris, Michael. 1994. *Paper Trail: Essays*. New York: Harper Perennial. A series of personal essays by writer Michael Dorris, who recently committed suicide. His writing provides insight into the experience of growing up with mixed Native

American and Irish heritage. He also recounts a passionate and sorrowful tale of adopting and raising three Native American children with Fetal Alcohol Syndrome.

Riley, Patricia (ed.). 1993. *Growing Up Native American: An Anthology*. New York: William Morrow and Company, Inc. A series of short stories from Native American authors of many tribes. There are some incredibly powerful accounts of the tragic abuses suffered by Native American peoples in the United States. The anthology provides insights into the lives of people whose cultures were oppressed and marked for extinction by white immigrants. There are also several tales of physical, emotional and sexual abuse which created cycles that continue to harm Native Americans today.

Speck, Frank G., and Leonard Broom. 1951. *Cherokee Dance and Drama*. Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press. Though not specific to the Passamaquoddy or Wabanaki tribes, this volume may be of interest to those interested in the dances performed by Native Americans. It contains comprehensive explanations and analysis of the dances performed by the Cherokee, including the Eagle Dance and the Green Corn Dance which may have been adopted by the Passamaquoddy. It also contains detailed diagrams of dance movements and photos of costumes worn by the dancers.

*Wabanaki: A New Dawn*. 1996. (Videorecording). Lincoln, Nebraska: Vision Maker Video. This video, approximately 30 minutes long and narrated solely by Waponahki people, offers a new vision of what it means to be Indian. A couple quotes can probably best illustrate the intent and content of the video: "We've tried many ways to survive; we've tried not being us; we've tried another religion's journey; we've tried destroying ourselves; we're just beginning to emerge from that dungeon," and "It isn't that the ways are lost; it is that we have lost the way."

*Songs of the Spirit*. (Compact Disc). Santa Fe, New Mexico: Triloka Records. This CD is a compilation of twelve songs by various Native American artists from many tribes. It is a unique combination of traditional and new - songs, chants, rhythms, melodies and instruments. It should provide a flavor for the music that accompanies the dances described in this portfolio.

## **Other Resources**

Indian Affairs Council, 1 Ashburton Place, Boston, MA. (617) 727-6394.

Native American Community Head Start, 105 S. Huntington Ave., Jamaica Plain, MA. (617) 232-8534.

Native American Indian Center, 105 S. Huntington Ave, Jamaica Plain, MA. (617) 232-0343.

The Quoddy Tides, (an area newspaper), 123 Water Street, PO Box 213, Eastport, ME. (207) 853-4806.

The Quoddy Wigwam, Route 1 and Shore Road, Perry, ME. (207) 853-4812.

Waponahki Museum, Pleasant Point Passamaquoddy Reservation, Route 190, ME. (207) 853-4001.

# Appendix A: Map of the Waponahki Tribes of New England

